323 564 closely at Shamirpet only in six were the relations finally broken off on account of dissatisfaction to either or both parties. Non-agriculturists and such occupational castes as do not have arrangements with the potter buy their requirements from him for a cash price. The Kummari families of Shamirpet have more clients and customers in some of the neighbouring villages which have no potters' families living in them.

THE GOLLA

[361] 233 564 476 The shepherds occupy a block of their own in the village. Some of them cultivate small land-holdings, but the major source of livelihood for all of them is their traditional occupation of keeping herds of goats and sheep. They may keep one or two cows and buffaloes besides these herds which are their livelihood. They have an elaborate lore regarding these animals, and they are experts in caring for quite large herds. They train country dogs to help them in this, and with their aid prevent the goats from going [782] astray when they are taken out for grazing in the forest. By turns the Golla families in the village contribute goats or sheep for sacrifice in the village ceremonies. For this they are not paid. With this exception, they carry on all other transactions with the village people in cash. When people buy goats and sheep, the owner of the animal is always paid in cash. For goat's milk they expect spot payment, but arrangements for weekly or monthly payments may be made in the case of regular buyers. However, in one respect they may also enter into an agreement with the agriculturists which may entitle them to a small share of each harvest. After the harvest, when all the crops have been reaped, the agriculturists ask the Gollas to graze their herds on their fields and keep them penned in during the night. As there is very little fodder in the fields, the shepherds take the goats and sheep out for grazing in the nearby forest, and during the night keep them in the field. [241] The urine and dung of the herd is believed to be good manure, and as such this service is much in demand by the agriculturists. The shepherds often fix days with the agriculturists, and each one has his turn only on a limited number of days. According to the nature of agreement between the cultivators and the shepherds, the payment is either in cash or the latter collect their dues from the fields at the time of harvesting.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

RITUAL STRUCTURE

The Muslim section of the population belongs to the Sunni sect and follows the religious pattern laid down in the Koran as interpreted by the founders of this sect. A devout Muslim is expected to offer prayers five times a day. In Shamirpet this would be the exception rather than the general rule. Some of the Muslim elders offer prayers twice a day, some only once and the rest are contented with their weekly prayers on Friday. The Mulla, the Muslim priest in the village, is the only person who offers the prescribed prayers every day. Fasting during the month of Ramzan is undertaken by a very large number of Muslims, but those maintaining it without a break until the end of the month would not total even a quarter of that number. The Muslims have a high degree of community-consciousness, but in Shamirpet it does not find expression in the form of intense religious devotion among the adherents of the Islamic faith.

With the exception of the Brahmin and the Komti castes, the Hindus have no fixed time for daily worship. The number of people who visit a temple or shrine every day is negligible. But festivals and ceremonies are observed with unfailing regularity. Otherwise the gods are remembered only at times of disease or difficulty. As a rule, only some of the elderly people devote themselves to 'the daily duty of remembering the creator'; the younger people 'have much else to do'. They participate in ceremonies, partake of the festival feasts, and assemble to listen to the reading of the holy books and to the recitation of mythological legends by professionals when they happen to visit the village. The tasks of remembrance and repentance are postponed for old age. Among both men and women, only the elders seem to talk about 'the change of times' and 'the decline in the religious attitudes and ethical standards of the people'. In the everyday thought and speech of the younger generation there is very little of religion; and little conscious effort at seeking any deep religious experience or thrill is to be found among them. In the life of the community under observation, we noticed only two exceptions to this. One of these is the *Urs*, a semi-religious fair, commemorating Jalal Miyan, a local Muslim divine with some reputation for being a holy man. This fair is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also. The second is the annual worship of a village goddess organized by the village. On both these occasions several people are temporarily possessed by the spirit

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

mention in Hindu scriptures. Being the most important river of the Deccan region its significance is very great to the Hindus of this area.

Along with the great gods of all-India Hinduism the people also continue to observe cults associated with regional and local deities and goddesses. The nature and characteristics of these goddesses differ widely in the different culture-areas of the land. Some of the goddesses listed below are commonly found in the Telugu-speaking areas, particularly in the Telangana districts of Hyderabad. Their main characteristics according to the residents of Shamirpet have also been mentioned.

They are:

1. Pochamma—goddess of smallpox.
2. Mutyalamma—goddess of chickenpox.
3. Balamma—goddess of fertility whose wrath causes sterility in women.
4. Mahakalamma—goddess of cholera.
5. Durgamma—goddess presiding over the destinies and welfare of the village.
6. Maisamma—goddess protecting the village boundaries.

Besides the above, certain other goddesses are also worshipped. Important among them are Ellamma (for the cure of boils), Pinamma (when naming a child after one of his deceased grandparents), and minor goddesses of the fields who protect the crops. To these must be added several other named and unnamed deities and goddesses whose worship is confined only to the village of Shamirpet.

All the characteristics of Hinduism having an all-India spread, described above, are in evidence in the religion of the people of Shamirpet. There is a small Shiva temple near the house of the Brahmin; another with several images on a hillock by the side of the Deshmukh's house. There are two platforms in the village on which the monkey god Hanuman[1] is lodged. In many clean caste houses there are images or pictures of some of these gods. Those

[1] Hanuman, the 'Son of the Winds', was one of the monkey helpers of Rama in his search for Sita when she was abducted by the demon Ravana (according to the epic poem *Ramayana*). Modern tradition seeks to interpret the Monkeys and Bears of this story as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan at the turn of the Christian era.

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

778 346 782 who have images of deities bathe them every day and make offerings of food. They are often described as 'family' or household gods. The pictures are worshipped on the occasions of festivals. In the neighbouring village of Aliyabad there is a temple of Rama. Besides these, there are several shrines of the village goddesses. Eight of these are important. Two shrines are dedicated to Maisamma—the *Gadi Maisamma* protects the house and dependants of the village headman, and the *Katta Maisamma* lodged near the tank protects the village boundaries and presides over the agricultural prosperity of the community. Pochamma too has two shrines—one near the houses of the Vaddars and another between the living quarters of the Madigas and the Erkalas. The shrine of Dugamma near the village post office is also important. There is one shrine each for Mahakalamma, Mutyalamma, and Pinamma.

788 People eagerly take the opportunities of attending religious fairs, and of going to holy places for a dip in one of the sacred rivers. The major centre of pilgrimage in the Telugu-speaking parts of Hyderabad is Bhadrachalam where there is an old and impressive temple by the side of Godavari. Those who can afford to and have the inclination go to the other places of pilgrimage having country-wide recognition, such as Allahabad (Prayag) and Benares (Kashi).

3. THE RELIGIOUS YEAR

796 Three major types of religious ceremonies and festivals are observed in the community; family ceremonies, village ceremonies, and caste ceremonies. The Muslim section of the village population has its own family festivals and some communal ceremonies. As pointed out earlier, they participate with their Hindu neighbours in the observance of common village ritual.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Feasts and fasts form an important part of Hindu religious life. Festivals are spread evenly over the whole year. Apart from village ceremonies, agricultural ritual, and special worships organized by some castes individually, there are several festivals which may be observed by most Hindu families, irrespective of their caste

1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

techniques are employed: *mantram* (chants and spells), *yantram* (use of secret formulae and designs) and *chetla kriya* (counter black magic). Amateur practitioners succeed in some cases, but all difficult cases require the intervention of an established specialist. The techniques of these specialists are their closely guarded secrets.

In Shamirpet eleven people claim some knowledge of these techniques; although only three were recognized as having 'real and effective powers'. One person who claimed to be an expert in *chetla kriya*—powerful enough to use black magic as well as to counteract it—died, when this research was in progress.

Fourteen women had some suspicion of witchcraft against them, only two being regarded as established witches. A census of ghosts was difficult, but we listed more than forty of them. Four ghosts were particularly feared. The hillock to the north-west of the village was believed to be the abode of innumerable ghosts, but now it is inhabited by the ghost of a Reddi woman who died in pregnancy. She is known to have attacked several women and children. A Madiga woman who committed suicide by jumping in the well of their settlement also became a ghost. At first she went out of the village and troubled her daughter, but on being 'driven away' from there she is believed to have come back to Shamirpet. The dread of the village, however, is the ghost of a Reddi agriculturist who dwells in the eastern side of the village. Even tough young people are afraid to go 'to his place' at mid-day, dusk or late at night. A young Muslim who died without sex experience is alleged to have interfered with many young women. No effective checks have been improvised so far to keep these ghosts under control. Many others 'have been tamed'. They were the ghosts of persons from the following categories:

(*a*) Persons too much attached to sex, wealth and children.
(*b*) Persons dying without satisfying their sexual cravings.
(*c*) Pregnant women.
(*d*) Persons meeting an accidental death, by falling from a tree, drowning or by lightning.
(*e*) Persons committing suicide.
(*f*) Persons dying with an intense hatred for someone.
(*g*) Persons who have been murdered.

Serious difficulties created by supernatural agencies call for some of the measures enumerated above. For getting over minor

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW 17

not move properly as it was dragged to the boundary, since that is regarded as a sign that the goddess is angry and needs to be appeased.

Ellore. The number of victims slaughtered at some of these festivals is enormous. At Ellore, which is a town of considerable size and importance, I was told that at the annual festival of Mahālakshmī about a a thousand animals are killed in one day, rich people sending as many as twenty or thirty. The blood then flows down into the fields behind the place of sacrifice in a regular flood, and carts full of sand are brought to cover up what remains on the spot. The heads are piled up in a heap about fifteen feet high in front of the shrine, and a large earthen basin about one-and-a-half feet in diameter is then filled with gingelly oil and put on the top of the heap, a thick cotton wick being placed in the basin and lighted. The animals are all worshipped with the usual *namaskāram*, *i.e.* folded hands raised to the forehead, before they are killed. This slaughter of victims goes on all day.

At midnight about twenty or twenty-five buffaloes are sacrificed. Their heads are cut off by a Mādigā pūjārī and with their carcasses are thrown upon large heaps of rice which have been presented to the goddess, till the rice is soaked with blood.

The subsequent ceremonies illustrate again the varieties of local custom. The rice is collected in about ten or fifteen large baskets, and, instead of being carried by a Mādigā, is carried on a large cart drawn by buffaloes or bullocks, with the Mādigā pūjārī seated on it. As the cart moves along, Mādigās sprinkle the rice on the streets and on the walls of the houses shouting "Poli! Poli!" ("Food! Food!"). A large body of men of different castes, Śūdras, Kommas, and Outcastes, go with the procession: but only the Mādigās and Mālās (the two sections of the Outcastes) shout "Poli," the rest following in silence. They have only two or three torches to show them the way, and no tom-toms nor music. Apparently the idea is that, if they make a noise or display a blaze of light, they will attract the evil spirits,

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

who will swoop down on them and do them some injury; though in other villages it is supposed that a great deal of noise and flourishing of sticks will keep the evil spirits at bay. Before this procession starts, the heads of the buffaloes are placed in front of the shrine, with the right foreleg in the mouth, the fat from the entrails smeared about half an inch thick over the whole face, and a large earthen lamp on the top of each head. The Pambalas[1] play tom-toms and chant a long story about Gaṅgamma till daybreak. About eight a.m. they put the buffalo heads with the lighted lamps upon them into separate baskets; and these are carried in procession through the town to the sound of tom-toms. All castes follow, shouting and singing. In former times, I was told, there was a good deal of fighting and disturbance during this procession, but now the police maintain order. When the procession arrives at the municipal limits, the heads are thrown over the boundary, and left there. The people then all bathe in the canal and return home.

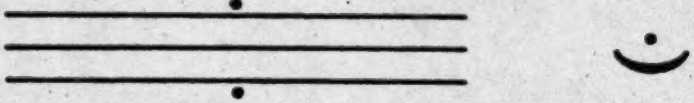
On the last day of the festival, which, I may remark, lasts for about three months, a small cart is made of margosa wood and a stake is fixed at each of the four corners. A pig and a fowl are tied to each stake, while a fruit, called *dubakaya*, is impaled on it instead of the animal. A yellow cloth, sprinkled with the blood of the buffaloes, is tied round the sides of the cart, and some margosa leaves are tied round the cloth. A Pambala sits on the cart, to which are fastened two large ropes, each about 200 yards long. Then men of all castes, without distinction, lay hold of the ropes and drag the cart round the town to the sound of tom-toms and music. Finally it is brought outside the municipal limits and left there, the Outcastes taking away the animals and fruits.

Sometimes, I was told, animals are sacrificed to Gaṅgamma by the people in Ellore in the courtyards of their own houses. They then clean the wall of

See p. 58 above.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW 17

the house outside with cow-dung and make three horizontal lines with kunkuma (a red paste of turmeric and lime), with a dot above and below, and a semi-circle on the right side with a dot in the middle, thus:—



The symbol on the right represents the sun and moon: that on the left is the Śaivite sectarian mark. They sacrifice to these symbols sheep, goats, and fowls. It is curious that, in these private sacrifices at home, they pour water on the sheep and goats to see whether they shiver, as a sign of acceptance,[1] though this is not done in the public sacrifices at Ellore.

Dharmaja-Gudem, near Ellore. At a village called Dharmaja-Gudem, about sixteen miles from Ellore, while the main features of the festivals are the same as those found elsewhere, there are two or three peculiarities, which deserve notice. The ordinary grāma-devatās of the village are Ellaramma, Gaṅgamma, Mutyalamma, and Ravelamma, who are represented by four stone pillars about six feet high, with figures of women carved on them, standing in an open field on the outskirts of the village: but when an epidemic breaks out, Mutyalamma, Gaṅgamma, Aṅkamma and Mahālakshmīamma are the deities propitiated, and special images are made of them. Those of the first three are made of clay, but that of Mahālakshmīamma is made of turmeric kneaded into a paste. Then, again, it is noticeable that a Brāhman acts as pūjārī of Mahālakshmī, a washerman as pūjārī of Gaṅgamma, and a potter as pūjārī of Aṅkamma. The Brāhman pūjārī presides over the worship for the greater part of the festival, which lasts for about three months, and during that time the people come almost every day and offer flowers, fruits, cocoanuts, camphor and incense, but no animal sacrifices. All this time, too, some nautch-

[1] See p. 55 above.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

All this time[1] too, some nautch—
girls come and dance in a booth erected in front of the image and work themselves up into a state of frenzy, during which they are supposed to be inspired by the deities, and utter oracles to the worshippers. When the epidemic begins to abate, the Brāhman pūjārī closes his part of the proceedings and departs.

Then, on that afternoon and evening, animal sacrifices are offered under the booth. On the first animal killed, which is generally a goat, water is poured from a brass vessel, to see if it shivers.[1] If it does, it is taken as a good omen that the goddess is propitiated and the disease will disappear. Then other animals are brought and, in accordance with a very common division of functions in the Telugu country, a washerman kills the sheep, goats, and fowls, and a Mādigā the buffaloes. The heads of the sheep and goats, as well as of the buffaloes, have the right forelegs put crosswise in the mouths, the faces smeared with fat from the entrails, and a lighted lamp placed above them. The blood is caught in a basket full of boiled rice, and the rice and blood are sprinkled round the village, while a Mādigā carries on his own head the head of a buffalo exactly as is done elsewhere. Here, too, great care is taken to prevent any person from another village taking away any of the rice and blood, lest the other village should get all the benefit of the sacrifice, and evils of all kinds descend on the unhappy villagers who have offered it. The ceremony of impaling live animals on stakes fixed round a wooden car,[2] and dragging them off to the boundary of the village is also practised here.

Bhīmadole, near Ellore. At another village, called Bhīmadole, about twenty miles from Ellore, I came across one of the few instances I have met with of any direct connexion between the harvest and the worship of a village goddess. There is an annual festival held there about harvest time, in November or December, lasting one day, which is always a Tuesday. About half a ton of rice is boiled in the middle of the village, taken

[1] See page 55. [2] See p. 58.

[see cat 116, p 68--ANALYST]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

776 to the shrine and presented in a heap before the image,
796 with a lighted lamp on the top of it, made of rice flour
241 kneaded into a paste, and holding about one pint of oil.[1]
782 Some toddy is poured on the ground to the east of the rice by the washerman; incense and camphor are burnt; while the people make namaskāram (salutation with folded hands raised to the forehead) to the image. As many as two hundred sheep and goats are then killed, and fowls are brought by the poorer people. In this festival, the rice soaked in the blood of the victims is not sprinkled on the streets of the village nor over the houses, but each ryot gives a handful of it to one of his field servants (an Outcaste), who takes and sprinkles it over his master's fields. Three handfuls of the crop are cut on the same day to inaugurate the harvest. No buffaloes are sacrificed during this festival.

755 On the other hand, when an epidemic breaks
776 out, there is a special festival, in which five or six buffaloes
782 are sacrificed as well as about three hundred sheep and goats. The buffaloes are killed last of all. One special buffalo, called *Pedda-Veta*, great sacrifice, is reserved to the end, and killed at about ten p.m. Nothing special is done with the blood of the other buffaloes nor with that of the sheep and goats, but the blood of the Pedda-Veta is allowed to flow on to some of the rice, as soon as the head is severed, and both head and carcass are placed upon the rice heap. The head, as usual, has the right foreleg put in the mouth, with fat smeared over the face and a lighted lamp above it.

At about eleven p.m. the head is carried by aMālā, not by a Mādigā in this village, on his own head three times round the boundaries of the village site, and the rice soaked in blood is sprinkled by the Mālās on the ground, as they go, and on any cattle they happen to meet, accompanied by the same weird and excited procession as elsewhere.

778 The illustration facing this page represents a shrine of Poshamma, a goddess worshipped by the Mālās. On the top of the shrine stands an earthenware lamp.

[1] See p. 39.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India TELUGU AW17

[p. 48]

CHAPTER IV

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE TELUGU COUNTRY

755 LET us suppose that an attack of cholera or small-pox has broken out in a village of South India. We will take a village in the Telugu country, in one of the more backward districts, where life is lived under more primitive conditions than in places where large towns and railways and the influence of the Brāhmans have tended to change old-fashioned ideas and customs.

776 755 •782 *A Telugu Village.* The village deity, in this particular village, is called Peddamma, the great mother. The epidemic is a sign that she is angry and requires to be propitiated. So a collection is made for the expenses of a festival, or a rich man offers to pay all expenses, and a propitious day is selected, which in this village may be any day except Sunday or Thursday. Then the potter of the village is instructed to make a clay image of the great mother, and the carpenter to make a small wooden cart, and a buffalo is chosen as the chief victim for the sacrifice.

When the appointed day arrives, the buffalo is sprinkled all over with yellow *turmeric*,[1] while garlands of margosa leaves are hung round its neck and tied to its horns. At about two p.m. it is conducted round the village in procession to the sound of music and the beating of tom-toms. The two sections of the Outcastes, the Mālās and the Mādigās, take the leading

[1] *Curcuma longa* is an Indian plant from the rootstock of which a powder called turmeric is extracted. This powder is used as a dye and also as one of the ingredients of curry-powder.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

part in the sacrifice, and conduct the buffalo from house to house. One Mādigā goes on ahead, with a tom-tom, to announce that "the buffalo devoted to the goddess is coming." The people then come out from their houses, bow down to worship the buffalo, and pour water over his feet, and also give some food to the Mālās and Mādigās, who form the procession. By about eight p.m. this ceremony is finished, and the buffalo is brought to an open spot in the village and tied up near a small canopy of cloths supported on bamboo poles, which has been set up for the reception of the goddess. All the villagers then assemble at the same place, and at about ten p.m. they go in procession, with music and tom-toms and torches, to the house of the potter, where the clay image is ready prepared. On arriving at his house, they pour about two and a half measures of rice on the ground and put the image on the top of it, adorned with a new cloth and jewels. All who are present then worship the image, and a ram is killed, its head being cut off with a large chopper, and the blood sprinkled on the top of the image, as a kind of consecration. The potter then takes up the idol and carries it out of the house for a little distance, and gives it to a washerman, who carries it to the place where the canopy has been set up to receive it. During the procession the people flourish sticks and swords and spears to keep off the evil spirits, and, for the same purpose, cut limes in half and throw them up in the air. The idea is that the greedy demons will clutch at the golden limes and carry them off, and so be diverted from any attack on the man who carries the image. When the idol has been duly deposited under the canopy, another procession is made to the house of the toddy-drawer. He is the man who climbs the palm trees and draws off the juice which is made into toddy. At his house some rice is cooked, and a pot of toddy and a bottle of *arrack*[1] are produced and duly smeared with yellow turmeric and a red paste, constantly used in religious

[1] Arrack is a native intoxicant.

776 755 782 [273]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

PLATE VII

782
291

BUFFALO SACRIFICE

[facing p. 50]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW7

worship among the Hindus and called *kunkuma*.[1] The cooked rice is put in front of the pot of toddy and bottle of arrack, a ram is killed in sacrifice, and then the toddy-drawer worships the pot and the bottle. The village officials pay him his fee, three-eighths of a measure of rice, three-eighths of a measure of *cholam*[2] and four annas, and then he carries the pot and bottle in procession, and places them under the canopy near the image of Peddamma. Then comes yet another procession. The people go off to the house of the chief official, the Reddy, and bring from it some cooked rice in a large earthenware pot, some sweet cakes, and a lamb. A large quantity of margosa leaves are spread on the ground in front of the image, the rice from the Reddy's house is placed upon them in a heap, and a large heap of rice, from one hundred to three hundred measures, according to the amount of the subscriptions, is poured in a heap a little farther away.

All these elaborate proceedings form only the preparations for the great sacrifice, which is now about to begin. The lamb is first worshipped and then sacrificed by having its throat cut and its head cut off. A ram is next brought and stood over the first large heap of rice, and is there cut in two, through the back, with a heavy chopper, by one of the village washermen. The blood pours out over the rice and soaks it through. One half of the ram is then taken up and carried to a spot a few yards off, where a body of Asādis are standing ready to begin their part in the ceremonies. The other half of the ram is left lying on the rice. The Asādis then begin to sing a long chant in honour of the deity. Meanwhile, the chief sacrifice is made. The buffalo is brought forward, and the Mādigās kill it by cutting its throat (in some villages its head is cut off). Some water is first poured over the blood, and then the pool of blood and water is covered up carefully with earth, lest any outsider from another

[1] Made of turmeric mixed with lime.
[2] A coarse grain, the staple food of the villagers.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

PLATE VIII

782
291
534

HEAD OF SACRIFICIAL BUFFALO

[facing p. 51]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

755 776 782 village should come and steal it. The idea is that if any man from another village should take away and carry home even a small part of the blood, that village would get the benefit of the sacrifice. The head of the buffalo is then cut off and placed before the image, with a layer of fat from its entrails smeared over the forehead and face, so as to cover entirely the eyes and nose. The right foreleg is cut off and placed crosswise in the mouth, some boiled rice is placed upon the fat on the forehead, and on it an earthenware lamp, which is kept alight during the whole of the festival. Why the right foreleg should be cut off and placed in the mouth, and what the meaning of it is, I have never been able to discover nor can I conjecture. When I have asked the villagers, they only reply, "It is the custom." But I have found the custom prevailing in all parts of South India, among Tamils, Telugus, and Canarese alike, and I have been informed that exactly the same custom prevails in the Southern Marāṭhā country. It seems to be a very ancient part of the ritual of sacrifice prevailing in South India.[1] This completes the presentation of the sacrifice to the goddess, who is supposed to delight in the food offered, and especially in the blood. A great deal of the food offered is, as a matter of fact, taken

[695] [1] Maharaja Sir V. S. Raṅga Rao Bahadur, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., writes in *The Asiatic Review* for January, 1919: "The Lord Bishop wishes to know why the leg of an animal is put crosswise in its mouth after it has been sacrificed before the village goddess. Among the menial castes of a village there is the practice of a guilty man putting a piece of dry grass crosswise in his mouth when he goes to the head of his village to ask his pardon. It denotes that he has committed a wrong act, as a beast. In places where grass is not available, the person in question puts the first finger of his right hand crosswise in his mouth with the same idea or purpose. Here the animals are sacrificed before the village gods and goddesses by the people in the expectation, or rather with the firm belief, that their sins will be forgiven by those deities, and that their consequences will be thus averted by means of those sacrifices. Instead of putting their fingers in their mouths, as stated before, they put the animal's leg (generally the right leg) crosswise in its mouth. Though I am not sure that this is the explanation of this practice, I presume that it must be along these lines, as no other ground is traceable."

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

755 776 782 away by the people and eaten in their homes, but the idea is that the goddess takes the essence and leaves the worshippers the material substance. This takes till about three a.m. next morning; and then begins another important part of the ceremonies.

Some of the rice from the heap, over which the ram was sacrificed and its blood poured out, is taken and put in a flat basket, and some of the entrails of the buffalo are mixed with it. The intestines of the lamb, which was first killed, are put over the neck of a Mālā, and its liver is placed in his mouth,[1] while another Mālā takes the basket of rice soaked in blood and mixed with the entrails of the buffalo. A procession is then formed [786] with these two weird figures in the middle. The man with the liver in his mouth is worked up into a state of frantic excitement and is supposed to be inspired by the goddess. He has to be held by men on either side of him, or kept fast with ropes, to prevent his rushing away; and all round him are the *ryots*, *i.e.* the small farmers, and the Mālās, flourishing clubs and swords, and throwing limes into the air, to drive away the evil spirits. As the procession moves through the village, the people shout out "Food! Food!" and the man who carries the basket sprinkles the rice soaked in blood over the houses to protect them from evil spirits. As he walks along, he shouts out, at intervals, that he sees the evil spirits, and falls down in a faint. Then lambs have to be sacrificed on the spot and limes thrown into the air and cocoanuts broken, to drive away the demons and bring the man to his senses. And so the procession moves through the village, amid frantic excitement, till, as the day dawns, they return to the canopy, where the great mother is peacefully reposing.

At about ten a.m. a fresh round of ceremonies begins. Some meat is cut from the carcass of the buffalo and cooked with some cholam, and then given to five little Mālā boys, *siddhalu*, the innocents, as they are called. They are all covered over with a large cloth,

[1] Cf. pp. 109, 148 below

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

and eat the food entirely concealed from view, probably to prevent the evil spirits from seeing them, or the evil eye from striking them. And then some more food is served to the Asādis, who have been for many hours, during the ceremonies of the night, chanting the praises of the goddess. After this the villagers bring their offerings. The Brāhmans, who may not kill animals, bring rice and cocoanuts, and other castes bring lambs, goats, sheep, fowls, and buffaloes, which are all killed by the washermen, by cutting their throats, except the buffaloes, which are always killed by the Mādigās, the lowest class of Outcastes. The heads are all cut off and presented to the goddess. This lasts till about three p.m., when the people go off to the house of the village carpenter, who has got ready a small wooden cart. On their arrival some cooked rice is offered to the cart, and a lamb sacrificed before it, and a new cloth and eight annas are given to the carpenter as his fee. The cart is then dragged by the washermen, to the sound of horns and tom-toms, to the place of sacrifice. The heads and carcasses of the animals already sacrificed are first removed by the Mālās and Mādigās, except the head of the buffalo first offered, which remains in its place till all the ceremonies are finished, when the shrine is removed.

At about seven p.m. another series of ceremonies begins. First a lamb is sacrificed before the goddess, and its blood mixed with some cooked rice, and at the same time a pig is buried up to the neck in a pit at the entrance of the village, with its head projecting above the earth. The villagers go in procession to the spot, while one of the Mādigās carries the rice, soaked in the blood of the lamb, in a basket. All the cattle of the village are then brought to the place and driven over the head of the unhappy pig,[1] which is, of course, trampled to death; and, as they pass over the pig, the blood and rice are sprinkled upon them to preserve them from disease. Then, after this, follows the final ceremony.

[1] Cf. p 58 below.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India TELUGU A447

The image of the goddess is taken from the canopy by the washerman, and a Mādigā takes the head of the buffalo with its foreleg in the mouth, the forehead and nostrils all smeared over with fat, and the earthen lamp still lighted on the top. They then all go in procession to the boundary of the village, first the men carrying the buffalo's head, next the washerman with the image, and last the small wooden cart. When the procession arrives at the extreme limit of the village lands, they go on, for about a furlong, into the lands of the neighbouring village. There the Asādis first chant the praises of the goddess, then some turmeric is distributed to all the people, and finally the image is divested of all its ornaments and solemnly placed upon the ground and left there. The light on the head of the buffalo is extinguished, and the head itself carried off by the Mādigā, who takes it for a feast to his own house. The object of transporting the goddess to the lands of the next village is to transfer to that village the wrath of the deity, a precaution which does not show much faith in the temper of the goddess, nor much charity towards their neighbours!

Gudivada, near Masulipatam. A somewhat different form of ceremonial prevails in some of the villages of the Telugu country nearer the coast. The village of Gudivada, about twenty miles from the important town of Masulipatam, may be taken as a good specimen of a well-to-do village in a prosperous district, and the ceremonies prevailing there are a fair sample of the cult of the village deities in these parts.

The name of the village deity at Gudivada is Pallalamma. Her image is the figure of a woman with four arms, and a leopard's head under her right foot, carved in bas-relief on a flat stone about three feet high, standing in an open compound, surrounded by a low stone wall. The pūjārī, who is a Śūdra, gave me a full account of the rites and ceremonies. Weekly offerings are made every Sunday, when the pujarī washes the image with water and soap-nut seeds early in the morning, and smears it with turmeric

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

and kunkuma, offers incense, breaks a cocoanut, and cooks and presents to the image about a seer of rice, which he afterwards eats himself. The rice is provided daily by the villagers. Occasionally fowls and sheep are offered on the Sunday by villagers who have made vows in time of sickness or other misfortunes. When a sheep is sacrificed, it is first purified by washing. The animal is simply killed in front of the image by a Mādigā, who cuts off its head with a large chopper. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground and nothing special is done with it. The head becomes the perquisite of the pūjārī, and the offerer takes away the carcass for a feast in his house. In many villages, both in the Telugu and Tamil districts, water is poured over the sheep's back to see whether it shivers. If it shivers, it is a sign that the goddess has accepted it.[1] Where the people are economical, they keep on pouring water till it does shiver, to avoid the expense of providing a second victim, but, where they are more scrupulous, if it does not shiver, it is taken as a sign that the goddess will not accept it and it is taken away.

A public festival is held whenever an epidemic breaks out. The headman of the village then gets a new earthenware pot, besmears it with turmeric and kunkuma and puts inside some clay bracelets, some necklaces, and ear-rings, three pieces of charcoal, three pieces of turmeric, three pieces of incense, a piece of dried cocoanut, a woman's cloth, and two annas' worth of coppers—a strange collection of miscellaneous charms and offerings. The pot is then hung up in a tree near the image, as a pledge that, if the epidemic disappears, the people will celebrate a festival.

When it does disappear, a thatched shed of palmyra leaves is built near the image, and a special image of clay, adorned with turmeric and kunkuma, is put inside, and beneath it an earthen pot filled with buttermilk and boiled rice. This pot is also smeared with turmeric and

[1] For this widespread superstition see Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, i, 19. Cf. pp. 63, 68, 69, 73, 99, below.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU NOTT

kunkuma, adorned with margosa leaves, covered with an earthenware saucer, and carried in procession through the village during the day, to the exhilarating sound of pipes, horns, and tom-toms, by the village potter, who takes the rice and buttermilk for his perquisite and renews it every morning of the festival at the public expense. The duration of the festival depends on the amount of the subscriptions, but it always lasts for an odd number of days, excluding all numbers with a seven in them, *e.g.* 7, 17, 27, etc. During the night the barbers of the village chant the praises of the goddess, and the Mādigās beat tom-toms near the image.

On the night before the day appointed for the offering of animal sacrifices by the villagers, a male buffalo, called Devara Potu, *i.e.* devoted to the deity, is sacrificed on behalf of the whole village. First, the buffalo is washed with water, smeared with yellow turmeric and red kunkuma, and then garlanded with flowers and the leaves of the sacred margosa tree. It is brought before the image; and a Mādigā cuts off its head, if possible at one blow, over a heap of boiled rice, which becomes soaked with the blood. The right foreleg is then cut off and placed crosswise in its mouth, according to the widespread custom prevailing in South India, the fat of the entrails is smeared over the eyes and forehead, and the head is placed in front of the image. A lighted lamp is placed, not as in the other villages on the head itself, but on the heap of rice soaked with blood. This rice is then put into a basket; and a Mādigā, the village *vetty* or sweeper, carries it round the site of the village, sprinkling it on the ground as he goes. The whole village goes with him, but there is no music or tom-toms. The people shout out as they go "Poli! Poli!" *i.e.* "Food! Food!" and clap their hands and wave their sticks above their heads to keep off the evil spirits. The rice offered to the goddess, but not soaked with blood, is then distributed to the people. What spirits the rice soaked in blood is supposed to feed is not clear, but the object of sprinkling the blood is evidently to ward off evil spirits

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU
AW17

and prevent them from coming near the village, and apparently the present idea is that they will be satiated with rice and blood and not want to do any mischief. The original idea was possibly quite different; but this seems to be the intention of the ceremony in modern times.

On the next day, early in the morning, the clay image and the pot are washed and smeared afresh with turmeric and kunkuma. Incense and boiled rice are then offered as on other days, and the pot is taken in procession round the village. When this has been done, about midday, each householder brings his offering of boiled rice, cakes, fruits and flowers, and, in addition, the village as a whole contributes about two hundred or more seers of rice, which is boiled near the pandal. All these offerings are placed in a heap before the image. Then, first, a sheep or a buffalo is offered on behalf of the whole village. Having been duly washed, and smeared with turmeric and kunkuma, and decorated with margosa leaves, its head is cut off by a Mādigā. The blood is allowed to flow on the ground, and some loose earth is thrown upon it to cover it up. The head is offered to the image by the headman of the village. After this various householders, even Brāhmans and Bunniahs, bring animals for sacrifice. All are killed by a Mādigā, and then the heads are all presented and placed in a heap before the goddess. Sometimes an extraordinary number of animals is sacrificed on occasions of this kind, as many as a thousand sheep on a single day. In a village like Gudivada the number of victims is, of course, far less. The question of precedence in the offering of victims constantly gives rise to quarrels among the leading villagers. When I was once visiting Gudivada, there was a case pending before the *tahsildar*, *i.e.* the sub-divisional magistrate, between a *zamindar*, landowner, and a village *munsiff*, *i.e.* a village magistrate, about this knotty point. The heads are taken away by the pūjārīs, potters, washermen, barbers, Mālās and Mādigās, and others who take any official part in the sacrifice. The carcasses of the

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AWG

private sacrifices are taken away by the offerers, and that of the public victim belongs to the headman of the village. The rice, fruit, etc., are distributed among the various officials. The function lasts from about ten a.m. to five p.m.

In the evening, a cart is brought to the image with nine pointed stakes standing upright in it, two at each of the four corners and one in the centre: on each stake a young pig, a lamb, or a fowl is impaled alive. A Mālā, called a *Pambala*, *i.e.* hereditary priest, then sits in the cart dressed in female attire, holding in his hand the clay image of the goddess which was made for the festival. The cart is dragged with ropes to the extreme boundary of the village lands, and both cart and ropes are left beyond the boundary. The Pambalas take away the animals, which all die during the procession, as their share of the offerings.

Living animals impaled in many villages. This cruel ceremony of impaling live animals is quite common in the eastern part of the Telugu country,[1] and I have come across it in many villages that I have visited. The Rev. F. N. Alexander, the veteran C.M.S. missionary, who lived over fifty years at Ellore, told me that he witnessed it in the town of Ellore the first year that he went there, and wrote a letter to the *Madras Mail* describing it. As a result of his letter, the practice was forbidden by the Government. So now at Ellore the animals are tied on to the stakes without being impaled; but in many villages near Ellore the custom still survives of impaling the unfortunate animals alive. Sometimes there are only four stakes on the cart, sometimes five, and sometimes more. It is not often that there are as many as nine. In one of the villages of the Kurnool district, I found that a similar barbarity was practised in connexion with the hook-swinging ceremony. On the fifth day of the festival in honour of Ańkalamma, a large car is constructed, with an arrangement of poles projecting

[1] Cf. pp. 59, 65, 69.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

about 20 feet in the air. A sheep is then suspended from the pole by iron hooks fastened through the muscles of its back and a band round its middle, and swung round and round. Two or three of the older men in the village said that they had often seen men swing like this with iron hooks fastened into their backs,[1] and that it did not hurt. As soon as the sheep is swung up, buffaloes, sheep and goats are sacrificed, and the car is then dragged in procession through the village.

A cruel pig sacrifice. Sometimes, when there is cattle disease, a pig is buried up to its neck at the boundary of the village, a heap of boiled rice is deposited near the spot, and then all the cattle of the village are driven over the unhappy pig.[2] It is not the custom at Gudivada to sprinkle anything on the cattle as they pass over the poor animal, as is done elsewhere.

There is a remarkable parallel to this form of sacrifice in a description quoted by Mr. E. Thurston, in his *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*,[3] of an ancient custom among the Lambadis, a wandering tribe of South India:

> "In former times, the Lambadis, before setting out on a journey, used to procure a little child and bury it in the ground up to its shoulders, and then drive their loaded bullocks over the unfortunate victim. In proportion to the bullocks thoroughly trampling the child to death, so their belief in a successful journey increased."

It is possible that this custom of driving the cattle over the head of a buried pig may be connected with the worship of an agricultural goddess, since in ancient Greece the pig was sacred to agricultural deities, *e.g.* Aphrodite, Adonis, and Demeter; but it may also be a survival of some former custom of infanticide or human sacrifice such as prevailed among the Lambadis.

An old man in the Kurnool district once described to me the account that he had received from his fore-

[1] This is the practice in the Hindu *dola-jātra*, swing-festival, celebrated in honour of Durgā, the wife of Śiva. Cf pp. 61, 76, 82, 83.

[2] See p. 53, 60.

[3] P. 507.

796 fathers of the ceremonies observed when founding
776 a new village. An auspicious site is selected and an
782 auspicious day, and then in the centre of the site is dug a large hole, in which are placed different kinds of grain, small pieces of the five metals, gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead, and a large stone, called *boddu-rayee*, *i.e.* navel-stone, standing about three and a half feet above the ground, very like the ordinary boundary stones seen in the fields. And then, at the entrance of the village, in the centre of the main street, where most of the cattle pass in and out on their way to and from the fields, they dig another hole and bury a pig alive. This ceremony would be quite consistent with either of the explanations suggested as to the origin of pig-burying. The pig may be buried at the entrance to the village as the emblem of fertility and strength, to secure the prosperity of the agricultural community, the fertility of the fields, and the health and fecundity of the cattle. Or it may equally be a substitute for an original human sacrifice. The idea that a new building or institution must be inaugurated by the sacrifice of a human life is very common all over India. To this day there is often a panic among the villagers who live near the banks of a river where a bridge is about to be built, because they think that one or more of their babies are sure to be required to bury under the foundations of the first pier. On one of my visits to Kalasapad, in the Cuddapah district, the missionary told me that, when a new ward was opened for their local mission dispensary, no one would go into it, because the people imagined that the first to go in would be the needful sacrifice. Their fears were allayed by a religious service at the opening of the ward; but had it been a Hindu hospital, probably a goat or a sheep would have
782 been killed as a substitute for the human victim.
796 The idea of substitution, too, is quite common in
785 India. In the hook-swinging ceremony described above,[1]

[1] P. 59.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

782
it is common both in the Telugu and Tamil districts to 796
substitute a sheep for a man, and to fasten the iron 785
hooks in the muscles of its back.

Alleged infanticide among Todas. I have been told 847
that, among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, it was formerly the custom to place female children, whom it was not desired to rear, on the ground at the entrance of the mund, *i.e.* a group of huts, and drive buffaloes over them. If they survived this ordeal, they were allowed to live.

It is only fair to add that the Todas themselves deny that this custom ever existed. To quote Mr. Thurston again:[1]

"The practice of infanticide, as it prevailed among the Todas of the Nilgiris, is best summed up in the words of an aged Toda during an interview with Colonel Marshall (*A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, 1873): 'I was a little boy when Mr. Sullivan (the first English pioneer of the Nilgiris) visited these mountains. In those days it was the custom to kill children, but the practice has long died out, and now one never hears of it. I don't know whether it was wrong or not to kill them, but we were very poor, and could not support our children. Now every one has a mantle (*putkūli*), but formerly there was only one for the whole family. We did not kill them to please any god, but because it was our custom. The mother never nursed the child, and the parents did not kill it. Do you think we could kill it ourselves? Those tell lies who say we laid it before the open buffalo-pen so that it might be run over and killed by the animals. We never did such things, and it is all nonsense that we drowned it in buffalo's milk. Boys were never killed—only girls; not those who were sickly and deformed—that would be a sin; but, when we had one girl, or in some families two girls, those that followed were killed. An old woman (kelachi) used to take the child immediately it was born, and close its nostrils, ears and mouth with a cloth thus (here pantomimic action). It would shortly droop its head, and go to sleep. We then buried it in the ground. The kelachi got a present of four annas (4d.) for the deed.' The old man's remark about the cattle-pen refers to the Malagasy custom of placing a new-born child at the entrance of a cattle-pen, and then driving the cattle over it, to see whether they would trample on it or not."

755
Masulipatam. At Masulipatam, where ceremonies 776
are performed very similar to those at Gudivada 782

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW17

during an epidemic, a washerman carries the earthenware pot, half full of buttermilk and adorned with margosa leaves, round the village to the sound of tom-toms. As it goes round, the washerman stops at each house and the wife comes out and pours water beside the pot on the ground and does reverence to the pot, imploring the goddess not to let any evil spirit come to the house; and then she puts more rice and buttermilk into it. When it is full, it is taken back to the shrine and another brought in its place. As this procession continues for fifteen days, the accumulation of rice and buttermilk must be considerable. It is ultimately consumed by the washermen, potters, Mālās and Mādigās, who take part in the festival. The real sacrifice begins on the sixteenth day and lasts for a month. Cotton-thread and all the rice and buttermilk collected from the villagers are offered to the image. The images themselves are smeared with turmeric, and dots of kunkuma are put on them, and finally on the last day a male buffalo, called *Devara-Potu*, *i.e.* devoted to the goddess, is brought before the image and its head cut off by the head Mādigā of the town. The blood is caught in a vessel and sprinkled over some boiled rice, and then the head, with the right foreleg in the mouth, is placed before the shrine on a flat wicker basket, with the rice and blood on another basket just below it. A lighted lamp is placed on the head, and then another Mādigā carries it on his own head round the village, with a new cloth dipped in the blood of the victim tied round his neck. This is regarded here and elsewhere as a very inauspicious and dangerous office; and the headman of the village has to offer considerable inducements to persuade a Mādigā to undertake it. Ropes are tied round his body and arms and held fast by men walking behind him, as he goes round, to prevent his being carried off by evil spirits, and limes are cut in half and thrown into the air, so that the demons may catch at them instead of at the man. It is believed that gigantic demons sit on the tops of tall trees ready to swoop down and carry him away, in

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELEGU AW17

order to get the rice and the buffalo's head. The idea of carrying the head and rice round a village, so the people said, is to draw a kind of cordon on every side of it and prevent the entrance of the evil spirits. Should any one in the town refuse to subscribe for the festival, his house is omitted from the procession, and left to the tender mercies of the devils. This procession is called *bali haranam*;[1] and in this district *inams*, rent-free lands, are held from Government by certain families of Mādigās for performing it. Besides the buffalo, large numbers of sheep and goats and fowls are sacrificed, each householder giving at least one animal. The head Mādigā who kills the animals takes the carcass and distributes the flesh among the members of his family. Often cases come into the courts to decide who has the right to kill them. As the sacrifice cannot wait for the tedious processes of the law, the elders of the village settle the question at once, pending an appeal to the courts. But in the town of Masulipatam, a Mādigā is specially licensed by the Municipality for the purpose, and all disputes are avoided.

Cocanada. At Cocanada there is only one Grāma-Devatā, Nukalamma (from Nuku, a Tamil word, meaning "to beat"); but she is very ill-tempered, they told me, and gives much trouble. Curiously enough, the present pūjārī is a woman of the fisherman caste. The office was hereditary in her family and she is the only surviving member of it. A male relative acts as deputy-pūjārī. Offerings are made to Nukalamma every day, doubtless on account of her temper. One custom I found observed here, which is not uncommon in these parts. When a victim's head has been cut off, it is put before the shrine and water poured on it. The offerer then waits to see whether the mouth opens. If it does, it is a sign that the sacrifice is accepted.[2] Another ceremony observed here is significant and, doubtless, a relic of the primitive idea

[1] Sanksrit for "presentation of the offering."
[2] See p. 55 n. 1, above.

782 of sacrifice. As soon as the victim is killed, the offerer dips his finger in the blood and puts it on his own forehead.

776 796 The annual festival of this goddess lasts for a whole month, ending on the New Year's day of the Telugu calendar. During this festival the procession of pots is observed with special ceremony. Six brass pots, each about two feet high, with the figure of a cobra springing from below the neck and rising over the mouth of the pot, are draped with women's cloths and carried round the town on men's head. Nothing is put inside them, but, as they go round, the women of each house come out, pour water on the feet of the bearers, and make offerings of rice and fruit. These are solemnly presented to the pots by the bearers, and some powder is applied to the two small feet that project at the base of each pot, and form a sort of frame fitting on the bearer's head. The bearer then takes a little of the turmeric powder, that is already on the foot of the pot, and puts it into the dish in which the offering was brought, with a few margosa leaves from a bundle that he carries with him. The dish is returned to the woman who offered the gifts, which become the property of the pūjārī. The women and children of the family mark their foreheads with the turmeric, and put the margosa leaves in their hair. This is called *Amma-vari-Prasādam*.[1] As they go round, the pūjārīs dance to the sound of tom-toms.

776 796 241 On the last day of the festival, when a buffalo is sacrificed, a curious ceremony takes place which is said to be very common in the villages of this district. After the head is cut off by the vetty,[2] who is a Mādigā, the blood is collected in a basin and nine kinds of grain and *gram*[3] are put into it. The basin is then put before the idol inside the shrine, and the

[1] The turmeric and the margosa leaves are a gift of grace (Sanskrit *prasāda*, grace) from the goddess. Food and water from the table of a Hindu god given to the worshippers in the temple are called *prasāda*.

[2] See above p. 56. [3] *Gram* is coarse lentils.

[i.e. Nukalamma, at Cocanada -- Analyst]

25: Whitehead M-3 (no date) 1921 AW1 India
TELUGU AW1

doors of the shrine are kept shut for three days. On the fourth day the doors are opened, the coagulated mass of blood, grain, and gram is carefully washed, and the grain and gram are separated on the ground behind the shrine, in order to see which of the various kinds of grain has sprouted. All the ryots eagerly assemble to watch the result, and whichever is found to have sprouted, is regarded as marked out by the goddess as the right kind of grain to sow that year. This method of determining which crop to sow is common in both the Godavari and Masulipatam districts. In these sacrifices to Nukalamma, too, the application of the blood is specially noticeable. As soon as the victim is killed, a small quantity of the blood is smeared on the sides of the door-posts of the shrine; the deputy-pūjārī dips his finger in the blood and applies it to his forehead; then all the other people present do the same; and afterwards some boiled rice and some turmeric powder are mixed with the blood, and a little of the mixture is sprinkled on the head of the Mādigā who holds the basin to catch the blood.

When an epidemic of cholera breaks out, another goddess, called Maridiamma, is installed in the place of the Nukalamma. A log of margosa wood, about three feet high and six inches in diameter, is cut and roughly carved at the top into the shape of a head, and then fixed in the ground with a pandal of leaves and cloths over it. Then the procession of the earthen pot half filled with buttermilk and rice is conducted, very much in the same way as at Masulipatam,[1] every day till the epidemic subsides. After that, some ten or twelve small carts are made, about six feet square, with three pointed stakes standing up on each side, on which live animals are impaled, as in other parts of the Telugu country.[2] The carts are partly filled with boiled rice and curry stuff prepared at the shrine, the blood of the victims sacrificed being poured over the rice. I was told that live animals were only impaled if a cart did

[1] See p. 62 above. [2] See p. 58 above.

787 difficulties, and for the fulfilment of comparatively simple wishes, recourse is taken to other methods. Fasting on a certain day in honour of a particular god or goddess for the satisfaction of a specific desire (or for overcoming a difficulty) is very common; and women take recourse to it quite often. Thus when T. was involved in a law suit, both he and his wife used to fast on Monday, and pleaded with their family god to get the court decision in their favour. Promising a food offering, sacrifice, or fasting for a specified period on a certain day, in return for the fulfilment of a wish is also resorted to. E. R.'s daughter was seriously ill and there was no hope of her life. E. R. went to the shrine of the goddess to whom her family was attached and said, 'Mother, we have always worshipped you. My daughter is on the point of death. I cannot bear to let her go before me. Save her and I will sacrifice two goats in your honour.' The girl recovered and E. R. did sacrifice the promised goats. S., a Komti woman, was worried because her daughter's husband was 'going astray'. She promised her family god: 'If you join what is breaking I shall fast on Mondays for three months and make offerings to you on all days of the fast.' The husband after a while, again started taking an interest in her daughter, and true to her word the mother kept her vow. When the wishes are not fulfilled people curse their luck, blame their own past actions, and reconcile themselves to the unfavourable attitude of the gods. 'All that we can do is to pray and worship. It is for the gods to hear or not to hear us. What else can we do? How can we have a quarrel with them?' would typify the average man's attitude in all cases where the powers of the supernatural world do not yield to their prayers and offerings.

751 176 The Muslims too have faith in ghosts and evil spirits. Their methods of dealing with them are similar to those of the Hindus. In addition they read passages from the Koran and invoke the assistance of their sages and seers. For overcoming minor ailments and difficulties they eagerly seek amulets from holy persons.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

249 is again let in once in three or four days. After a comparatively short space of time when the plants have grown, the heaps of earth separating the two rows of plants are made higher and broader. From that time onwards water is let in once in three or four days till the crop is full. After three months when the cane has grown, two or three stalks are bound together by means of its dried leaves. When the stalks are still higher once more they are tied together at the top. Then long rods with forked ends are planted in the ground and long bamboos are laid in a line with the trenches, resting in the forks and the canes are tied to them. In this way the binding goes on for about eight or nine months as the stalks grow longer and longer. When they are full they are cut and removed. The crop is carried about one year or a little more after the cultivator starts getting the land ready. The country wooden plough is used for all purposes, the other implements being yoke, picottah bucket made of leather and sometimes of iron, *yetham-bana*,* *palikimanu*, *guntaka*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, reaping hook, shorthandled hoes.

231 *Stock*—

Working oxen	45	including paracheri.
Oxen not in a fit condition to work	65	
Male buffaloes	6	
Cow buffaloes	15	
Young stock of above species up to a year old	59	
Horses	...	
Donkeys and mules	4	
Sheep	47	
Goats	8	
Pigs	18	
Cows	85	

The cattle are of the well-known Punganur breed, rather light, but quick and active. The villagers breed cattle, and buy and sell in the cattle fair held annually in Punganur.

241 *Manuring.*—Most of the dung, about 90 per cent, is used as manure, the rest being utilized for household purposes.

[237] Cattle urine is allowed to run to waste. The dung of goats, sheep, pigs, donkeys is used as manure.

Except the leaf of the kanaga tree, no green manure is used. This is obtained from topes planted many years ago. Sometimes it is taken on contract from the zamindar from the jungle all round.

There are practically no gardens, all the lands being used to grow grain. It is only now that beginnings are being made. Small plots of land are being planted with mango-grafts. The karnam of the village started this.

242 *Insect-pests.*—*Thellachida* affects generally paddy crop, eats away the leaves and stalks.

782 *Pethachida* affects all crops; consists of innumerable kinds of insects, eating away all the leaves.

Aggijadyam.—Paddy turns a vivid scarlet.

Kondapurirogam.—The worst pest affecting rice. The whole crop is consumed as by fire. The long stalks get shrivelled up to a ridiculously small length. To get a crop is impossible when once this sets in.

Locusts.—These destroy the crops.

* Vide p. 105.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

The people think that these are all visitations of goddesses and accordingly offer a sheep, or pig, or a white hen or cock as a sacrifice.

Cattle diseases—Kurama.—The ox or cow when it suffers from this refuses food, shivers, suffers as from cold. *Domma*—Shivering, swelling of the stomach and purging. *Chalidomma*—Swelling starts at some portion of the body, extends to the neck and proves fatal. *Nalupu jadyam*—Purging and dying. *Gundasala*—The heart bursts in this. *Musara*—Ulceration all over and refusal of food.

Medicines are prepared out of omum, assafœtida, turmeric, pepper, onions and like articles and some medicinal herbs found in woods and forests.

Up till now no assistance has been given by the Agricultural department.

Fuel is obtained from the jungle near by. Wood for building and implements is obtained from the Avulapalle forest, a magnificent forest abounding in good game, belonging to the zamindari itself. The distance from here is about a dozen miles.

The village.—The depressed castes live in circular thatched huts. Everything is dirty inside and out. The dwelling is circular consisting of but one room which serves for all purposes. Generally the diameter of the house is about 22 feet.

There are thirty houses in the caste village; three are terraced, none tiled, one earthen-roofed, all the rest thatched.

The ryots occasionally exchange lands to get their lands continuous. Field huts are used only at harvest time.

Subsidiary industries.—There are no weavers at all now. Handspinning was once practised when cotton was raised locally, but abandoned about thirty-five years ago, because cotton is no longer raised.

Crafts.	Working time.	Earnings.	Remarks.
Blacksmith ...	About 75 per cent.	Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 per annum.	He does not work every month. It is at harvest times that he gets manuls called *thirigawa* and *mera*. These amount to about three or four puttles; 1 putti = 160 Madras measures [i.e., 400 lb.—Ed.]
Dommara ...	Almost always.	Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per annum.	Makes wooden combs.
Potter	Do.	Rs. 70 or Rs. 80 per annum.	Not only sells to others, but also gets the same manuls as the blacksmith from the ryots at harvest time.

Village trade.—Wood required for agricultural and industrial purposes is purchased in the forests belonging to the zamindari above mentioned. Iron implements are purchased in Punganur, or Chouldepalli.

The nearest market is Kandur, a village 3 miles off.

Whatever is grown in the village and required for household purposes is retained by the villagers. The rest is all sold.

There is a local road which passes by this village running from Somala to Kalikiri. This local road connects with the trunk road running from Punganur to Chandragiri. The nearest railway

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Telugu AWI7

Money is lent at about 9½ per cent interest per annum. The registered capital is a little over a thousand rupees. There are forty-six members. There is a Secretary, a President, and a Treasurer, all honorary posts.

Dry land sells at from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre; wet land from Rs. 400 to Rs. 800. There has been a rise in prices owing to the increased demands for land and insufficient supply.

Under the Mysore Agricultural Loans Act loans nearly to the extent of Rs. 1,200 have been taken up at 4 per cent interest per annum from the Mysore Government.

Festivals.—A great festival is held at irregular intervals in honour of the goddess Gangamma, the tutelary goddess of the village and its fields and crops. There was a celebration in 1911, and another, prompted by a succession of bad seasons, in 1917. This last was celebrated from the 22nd to the 29th of April. The inhabitants of sixteen villages took part, every family making some contribution, and some 10,000 people congregated in Gowripalli. An image of the goddess is made of rice-flour, copying the silver image in Punganur. It shows only the neck and head, wearing a lofty head-dress. Before this image some 2,000 victims are sacrificed. The first sacrifice is that of a male buffalo; this takes place at midnight, and is followed by that of two or three goats. In the following morning 21 buffaloes are sacrificed. Throughout the festival there is great rejoicing and weird dancing at night, with *kolattam*, short sticks held in the hands and beaten together. Finally the goddess is carried in procession, with drums and cymbals, to the water and thrown in, and there she dissolves. This year there have been good crops and all the tanks are full. The animals sacrificed, in addition to male buffaloes and goats, are rams and cocks. The Brahmans take no part in this festival. The village officers make money out of it, the patel may get Rs. 30 or Rs. 40.

Sanitary condition.—Malaria is always prevalent. The water for drinking purposes is bad and the village is situated in a low marshy place. Two years ago the village suffered from cholera. There were about fifty deaths. It is free from plague. This year (1916) there was an attack of small-pox, with some deaths. In disease people get themselves treated by native doctors. The nearest hospital is at Srinivaspur, but no advantage is taken of it, as they regard it as most unsatisfactory.

All kinds of filth and dirt are allowed to accumulate in the courtyards of the houses. Cattle are housed there only and people sleep near these places. This is to a great extent minimized among the Brahmans.

No infant marriages are allowed in Mysore. The bride must be at least eight years old and the bridegroom sixteen years.

All Muhammadans observe purdah.

Water for drinking purposes is found in abundance. All the Brahmans drink water got out of wells in their backyards. Others drink out of a well about half a furlong from the village and out of the stream aforesaid. Almost all the water is fresh. But it has a tendency to bring on malaria.

Education.—There is one school, but the accommodation is insufficient. The classes, about seven in number, are held in two